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*The RELATIVE PAUPERISM of ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, and IRELAND,
1851 to 1860. By FREDERICK PURDY, Esq., Principal of the
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[Read before Section (F) of the British Association, Manchester, 6th September,
1861.]

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I.—Diversities of Relief in the Three Kingdoms.

THE present, being the year of the General Census of the population, appears to be an appropriate season for calling the attention of the Section to the subject of the Pauperism of the United Kingdom. We have recently counted the people of all ranks ; let us now consider that unfortunate grade, who subsist upon the forced charity of the industrious—the pauper class ; and, contrast the development and pressure of pauperism, which severally obtain, in the three kingdoms.

With the aid of official reports and statistical returns, the relative pauperism of England, Scotland, and Ireland, may be investigated during a decennium, which is nearly coincident with the interval falling between the census of 1851, and that of 1861.

Each country has its own poor laws ; and its own executive for their administration. The object of these laws is one. *To afford relief to the destitute poor under such conditions, as may be the least injurious to themselves, and to the community at large.* But, circumstances have impressed so much diversity on the matter and form of

the facts recorded in the Annual Reports of the three Commissions, that it is essential to a valid comparison of either country with the others, to employ the most general as the only congruent data.

England has had an efficient Poor Law, though grossly perverted at one time from its proper object, for more than two centuries—Scotland had not, until 1845, any organized plan of relief comparable with the English system; and in Ireland, no poor law whatever was established before the year 1838. This element of time is to be remembered, when we consider the relative pauperism of the three countries.

Before using the figures of the tables appended, it is necessary to observe that the parochial years for fiscal purposes; and the days of the year on which the paupers are enumerated, differ in the three Kingdoms. In England the parochial year ends on the 25th March; and the paupers are counted on the 1st July and the 1st January in each year. In Scotland the year ends with the 14th May, when the pauper census takes place; the Commissioners considering that a fair average is obtainable on that day. In Ireland the year ends on the 29th September; the pauper census is deduced from the numbers relieved in each of the fifty-two weeks. The statistics here submitted to the section have, where not otherwise noted, reference to the ten years ending in 1860.

It will be also necessary to define the difference between the meaning of the words "pauper," and "poor person," as used in the Reports. In England all those who receive any assistance whatever from the Poor Rates, whether it be as food, clothing, lodging, or money, or simply medical relief, are paupers; but, poor persons, vaccinated at the charge of the rates, are not pauperised thereby. There is also, a small class, chargeable indirectly to the poor rates, or directly to some rate on the same basis, as county or borough pauper lunatics.

In Scotland the word "pauper" will bear the same meaning as in England; but, there appears to be no provision for public vaccination at the charge of the poor rates in that country.

In Ireland the recipient of relief from the poor rates, is pauperised under the same conditions that obtain in England; but, the poor are assisted by the Medical Charities Act, under which a considerable sum is annually disbursed in affording them medical aid. Medical relief given under this Act does not pauperize the recipient. There is, moreover, a class of pauper lunatics in asylums, maintained at the expense of the county cess.

II.—*Census of Paupers—1851 to 1860.*

The average population of the United Kingdom, during the ten years terminating in 1860, was 28,104,000; the average of the

annual enumerations of paupers was 1,109,275 or 3·9 per cent. In England the population was 18,901,000; the paupers 892,671 or 4·7 per cent.; in Scotland the population was 3,009,000;* the paupers 120,624 or 4·0 per cent.; and in Ireland the population being 6,193,000; the paupers were 95,880 or 1·5 per cent. Thus the relative proportion on the population, was in England 47; Scotland 40; and, in Ireland 15.

English pauperism is a time-honoured institution, the growth of nearly three centuries; and Scotland, under its amended Poor Law, appears emulous of attaining to a scale of relief, which may pass unrebuked, by the side of the English expenditure. Ireland has been disburthened of its superfluous population, by emigration. At the same time, it has been the good fortune of that country, to have had its poor laws inaugurated and supervised by public servants, who were familiar with the English machinery; and, who were well acquainted with the evils of a deep-rooted pauperism; and, with the practical benefits, which the amendment of the Poor Laws in 1834, had conferred upon English rate-payers, and English labourers. The decline of Irish pauperism is still more remarkable, when we collate the numbers relieved in 1851 with those of 1860. In the former year the total was 226,452; and in the latter, 43,272. But, the pressure in Ireland, though great in 1851, was far below that experienced in the three previous years. The *maximum* of pauperism was attained in July, 1849, when 1,005,800, or 221,583 in-door, and 784,307 out-door, paupers were relieved.†

In the practical management of the Poor Laws, the economists and the reformers have, with reason, regarded the system of “out-door relief” with great disfavour. This arises from two causes; one is the difficulty of testing the applicant’s destitution; and the other, the fear that the rates may be diverted, in the hands of the employers of labour, to the depression of wages. A large ratio of out-door relief, is regarded as the surest index of a badly managed Union, or Parish. In respect of Scotland the reports do not usually discriminate the in-door from the out-door paupers; this information, however, is given for 1859.‡ The following comparison is therefore limited to that year; but, in respect of the other parts of the kingdom, the figures for the ten years are given in the Appendix (Table A).

* This estimate of the average of the Scotch population for the decennium, was made before the census of 1861 was published; it gives a higher figure than that enumeration warrants—consequently, the ratio of pauperism, and the rate per head for relief, as represented in this paper, are somewhat *lower* for Scotland than they should be.

† Select Committee on Poor Relief (Ireland), No. 408, Sess. 1861, Q. 72.

‡ “Fourteenth Annual Report of the Board of Supervision for Relief of the “Poor (Scotland),” p. 24.

	Census of Paupers, 1859.		
	In-door.	Out-door.	Total.
England and Wales....	121,232	744,214	865,446
Scotland	8,678	113,335	122,013
Ireland	40,369	1,248	41,617

Thus it appears that for one in-door pauper, England relieved 6·1 out-door; Scotland 13·1 and Ireland 0·03. Out-door relief was nearly extinct in the latter country.

As regards able-bodied pauperism, a comparison can only be made between England and Ireland, because, the "able-bodied," as such, have no legal claim to relief in Scotland. According to the latest returns* there were in England, 132,120 adult able-bodied paupers; and in Ireland, of the same class, 7,927 only. These figures give a percentage on the population of ·66 for the former, and ·13 for the latter country; that is, as *five to one*. In this class the women are, in both countries, three times as numerous as the men. England, which has workhouse room for 218,000† inmates, does not use *one-thirteenth* part of it for the reception of adult able-bodied paupers; on the other hand, Ireland relieves *all* of that class in the workhouse; England gives out-door relief to *seven* adult able-bodied paupers, in respect of *one* in-door.

The remarkable contrast which Ireland offers to Scotland, has been commented upon in the Scotch Poor Law Reports, where the Scotch pauperism has been collated with that of Ulster and Connaught. The Scotch expenditure for relief, has been also compared, by the Scotch Board, with the corresponding outlay in the northern, and north-western divisions of England:‡ Those districts of Ireland and of England, were selected for comparison with Scotland, as affording great similarity, in their respective circumstances, apart from the existence of pauperism.

"In Scotland," observe the Commissioners, "out-door relief is "the rule — relief in the poorhouse the exception — of 119,453 "persons receiving relief in Scotland on the 14th May (1857), only "about 6,000 or little more than 1 in 20 of their number were in "poorhouses. Of 53,331 persons receiving relief at the same time

* "Thirteenth Report of the Poor Law Board," and "Fourteenth of the Irish "Poor Law Board."

† "Union Almanac, 1861" (C. Knight and Co.), p. 19, *et. seq.*

‡ "Thirteenth and Fourteenth Annual Reports of the Scotch Poor Law "Board."

“ in Ireland only 944 received out-door relief, 52,387 were inmates of the workhouses. In Ireland relief in the workhouse, and only in the workhouse, is the rule—out-door relief the rare and special exception. To this broad difference in the conditions upon which relief can be obtained it is probable that the vast disparity in the ratio of pauperism to population ought mainly to be attributed.”* The Commissioners further remark, that of the Irish population resident in Scotland, 1 in 13 *is a pauper*; but, that in Ireland, exclusive of the able bodied, this class having no claim to relief in Scotland, the ratio is 1 in 274. It is unfortunate that a similar comparison cannot be made between the Irish at home, and the Irish in England.

The Scotch Commissioners return to the subject of this startling disparity, in their subsequent report. Their observations are so important, and bear so immediately upon the facts, that I cannot refrain from quoting the passage. “There are thus,” they state, “in any given number of the population, more than 12 paupers in the Highland counties for every 1 pauper in Ulster and Connaught. For so vast a disparity there must be causes that are intelligible. * * * * Ten years ago it did not exist, and we must seek its causes in the changes that have taken place since that time. In the years from 1846 to 1849, the avidity to obtain eleemosynary aid was at least as great as general, and led to quite as many and as ingenious devices to secure it in Ireland as in the Highlands. The tendency to rely upon that description of assistance, though attempts were made to guard it by careful scrutiny, and the labour test, was not checked in Ireland until the workhouse was available. The cruelty of resorting to that mode of relief was then denounced in terms of unmeasured severity; but those who looked not to present popularity, but to the permanent welfare of the people, persevered; and it may be doubted whether there is now to be found one sincere friend of the labouring classes in Ireland who has intelligently considered the subject, and who believes that the industry, the self-reliance, and the power of self-maintenance now exhibited by the people of Ireland could have been developed as it has been in the last ten years if out-door relief had then been as easily obtained as it now is in the Highlands of Scotland; or who doubts that the people of Ireland have gained far more by this development than they could have gained by a system of out-door relief, which repressed the growth of those qualities and habits.”†

Those who are unacquainted with the subject of Scotch pauperism, will be surprised to find the degradation to which the population of the Highlands has sunk, in the course of a few years, under the blighting influence of an indiscriminate system of out-door relief.

* “Thirteenth Annual Report of the Scotch Poor Law Board,” p. 7.

† “Fourteenth Report of Scotch Poor Law Board,” p. 21.

Strong evidence of the demoralizing effects of untested relief in that district, was given by Mr. Briscoe to the Irish Poor Relief Committee of last session.

Mr. Briscoe is officially connected with the Scotch Board, as General Superintendent of the Poor; and in that capacity has visited 10,000 registered poor (paupers), or heads of families, at their own houses. He gave the committee a very long list of persons, who were improperly relieved; forcibly suggesting the abuses of the unreformed English poor laws; and, subsequently, to the question—"Then, the effect of this out-door relief has been very demoralizing, and has broken down the spirit of independence?" made this remarkable answer: "Not the least doubt about it; it has deteriorated to a considerable extent truth, industry, morality, self-respect, self-reliance, the natural affections, and independence of character; it appears as if the whole of the humbler classes had completely changed character; there is no shame whatever now in demanding relief, even among some of higher station. The state of things in the Highlands of Scotland is perfectly deplorable, and every person admits it."*

The rapid increase in the pauperism of Scotland is clearly due to the insufficient workhouse test of that country. It vividly recalls to mind a passage in Mr. Twistleton's dissent from the Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners appointed in 1843 to inquire "into the administration and practical operation of the Poor Laws of Scotland." Mr. Twistleton was one of the Commissioners; and he brought to the consideration of the subject great knowledge of the actual working of the English Poor Laws. Mr. Twistleton's "Reasons of Dissent" are drawn up in eight paragraphs. The following words form part of the sixth:—"But while I admit that the arrangement of various details may be safely vested in the managers of the poor in each particular town, it is my opinion that the *principles* of dealing with a subject so difficult as that of administering relief, should be settled by the more enlarged wisdom of Parliament. And a matter of such importance as the erection of poorhouses ought not to be dependent either on the honest judgment, or possible caprice, partial knowledge, or narrow views of accidental majorities in particular localities."†

After seventeen years' administration of their amended Poor Laws, the Scotch authorities have left four-fifths of their parishes unprovided with poorhouses. But, it is necessary to add, that the Commissioners anticipate a considerable increase in the number, as seventy-seven parishes are taking steps to build new poorhouses.

* "Report on Poor Relief (Ireland)," House of Commons, 1861, p. 369.

† "Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners on Scotch Poor Laws," p. 66, 1844.

III.—*Pauper Lunatics—1st January.*

No class of the poor have a greater claim upon our care than the insane. For some years returns of the number of pauper lunatics and idiots, who were chargeable on the 1st January, to the unions and parishes in England and Wales, have been made to Parliament; and the same information has been more recently published for Scotland. With regard to Ireland there is a similar Return for 1857 only. Taking this, with the average numbers of the two last years for England and Scotland, we arrive at the following results:—

The numbers embrace all descriptions of insane paupers; whether designated as lunatic, idiot, imbecile, or fatuous. (Table B, Appendix.)

England and Wales	33,068
Scotland	5,103
Ireland	5,639
	<hr/> 43,810 <hr/>

Comparing these numbers with the population of the respective countries, we obtain the following figures:—

In England and Wales '168 per cent. of the population are pauper lunatics.

„ Scotland	'165	„	„	„
„ Ireland.....	'093	„	„	„

It is difficult to explain the low ratio of pauper insanity in Ireland as compared with England and Scotland. The Commissioners who reported in 1858 on Irish Lunatic Asylums, stated that there were 3,352 “insane poor at large and unprovided for.” Assuming that this class, in England or Scotland, would have received relief; and, therefore should have been included for the purpose of the comparison, the ratio above, would have been '150 per cent. It should also be remembered that the general pauperism of Ireland is only $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the population; but that in Great Britain it is 4 per cent. This would account for the difference, if the insane pauper invariably belonged to the pauper ranks, previous to his calamity, and not in consequence of it. Many fall to pauperism through the terrible affliction of mental imbecility, or mental alienation, whom no misfortune, short of it, would bring upon the rates.

On the other hand, it is known that in England, from several causes, the cases of pauper lunacy have, of late years, been more fully recorded than formerly; and to this circumstance the Commissioners in Lunacy, refer in combating the common impression, that lunacy is on the increase in this country. “There can be very little doubt,” they state, “that the system of observation and inquiry adopted of late years, however imperfect it still may be, has led to the detec-

"tion and classification as insane of many persons formerly looked upon as ordinary paupers."*

It appears, from official reports, that the large increase recorded in the number of pauper lunatics in Scotland, is ascribable to analogous causes; besides, in that country, the definition of the term "lunatic" appears to have been employed in a more comprehensive sense, latterly, than the corresponding term, "insane," or "fatuous," was, formerly.†

IV.—*Poor Rates Levied in the United Kingdom.*

In England a considerable portion of the sum raised as poor rates, is applied to local purposes quite irrespective of the object for which this tax was originally imposed; in Scotland the rate is applied wholly to relief; and in Ireland in addition to relief, the expenses under the Medical Charities Act are defrayed from the rates. Besides the poor rates there is an aggregate sum varying from 300,000*l.* to 400,000*l.* yearly received from various sources in aid of rates. The total sum levied and received during the ten years 1859-60 was 92,285,965*l.* (Table C, Appendix.) The amount raised in each country was as follows—

	£
England and Wales	77,960,190
Scotland	6,182,526
Ireland	8,143,249

Of the English amount, upwards of 18,000,000*l.* were disbursed for purposes wholly beside the relief to the poor. The table in the Appendix exhibits the levy, and the receipts in aid, for each year, and for each country, separately.

A large part of the receipts in aid of the English rates, arises from the sums annually voted in Parliament to pay Workhouse Schoolmasters' and Schoolmistress' salaries in full; and for the medical officer's salaries; to the extent of one-half of their amount. In Scotland a vote of 10,000*l.* is applied in aid of medical relief, yearly.

During ten years the total sums voted by Parliament were these; namely, for—

	£
England and Wales	1,246,000
Scotland	100,000
Ireland	11,000

(Table D, Appendix.)

V.—*Relief to the Poor.*

This charge consists of the cost of food, clothing, and lodging, to the paupers in workhouses; the cost of maintenance of pauper

* "Fifteenth Report of the Commissioners in Lunacy," p. 78.

† "Thirteenth Report of the Board of Supervision," p. xvii, *et seq.*

lunatics in asylums; except in Ireland, where that item is paid out of the county cess; and, of the value of the food and money given to out-door paupers; to these items must be added the cost of erecting and furnishing workhouses; the union and parochial officers' salaries, and other establishment charges, immediately connected with the local administration of relief. The total expenditure of the United Kingdom during the ten years was 67,341,921*l.*, which is equivalent to an annual charge of 4*s.* 9½*d.* per head, on the average population of the period. Discriminating the amounts we have the following statement. (Table E, Appendix.)

	£	s.	d.	
England and Wales	54,767,542	= 5	9½	per head on Population.
Scotland	5,917,634	= 3	11¼	" "
Ireland	6,656,745	= 2	1¾	" "

From this it appears that during the last ten years the ratio of relief, as measured on the population, was nearly *double* in Scotland, and *treble* in England, the proportion attained in Ireland.

Tracing the expenditure through the consecutive years, we find that in England the amount rose considerably in the middle of the period, but that it has been declining since; in Scotland the sum has *increased* every year; while in Ireland it has *decreased* every year, but the last, when it rose slightly. (Table E, Appendix.)

These contrasts are rendered more remarkable, on comparing the first with the last year of the series. Thus, in England, the sum expended in 1851, was 4,962,704*l.*; and 5,454,964*l.* in 1860—*increase* 492,260*l.*; in Scotland the similar items were 524,033*l.* and 654,527*l.*—*increase* 130,494*l.*; in Ireland, on the contrary, the earliest amount was 1,141,647*l.*, and the latest 454,531*l.*,—*decrease* 687,116*l.*

The character and rate of difference was therefore—

An <i>increase</i> in	{ England and Wales, of 10 per cent.
	{ Scotland „ 25 „
A <i>decrease</i> in	Ireland „ 60 „

It will be of interest to compare the annual cost per pauper, taking the average of the ten years, in each country. The aggregate cost is the sum which in Table E, Appendix, is designated “relief “of the poor,” it consists of (1) The expense of *individual relief*, that is, the cost of the food, clothing and necessities, of the in-door and asylum paupers; and the value of the relief given in money or in kind to the out-door paupers; (2) The expense of *relief in common*, that is, the cost of building and maintaining workhouses and their establishments; the salaries of the union officers; and other local expenses consequent upon relief. The returns do not enable us to discriminate these two species of relief; but, the results computed on the total are these:—

	Annual Cost per Pauper.		
	£	s.	d.
England and Wales	6	2	8
Scotland	4	18	—
Ireland	6	18	10

Here Ireland is highest, and Scotland lowest. In the former country most of the relief is given in the workhouse; this is the most costly form, individually; but, the *least costly* in the ultimate issue. In the latter country the largest portion of the relief is out-door; here, it is the least costly, individually; but the *most costly* in the ultimate result.

The Scotch Poor Law Board have, in their fourteenth report,* shown that already Scotland exceeds the least pauperized divisions of England, in the amount of relief given. It is obvious, that if Scotland maintains, for a few years, its present rate of increase, it will soon equal, if not surpass, the most pauperized districts of the south.

One of the greatest evils of a mal-administered poor law, is the the depression of the wages of labour, by the agency of relief,—a result which may be produced designedly, or ignorantly. But, where relief is administered, as in Ireland, wholly in well-regulated workhouses, it appears hardly possible that any baneful disturbance of the labour market can follow, as a consequence. Is the English system equally free from this mischief? England spends 3,000,000*l.* a-year upon *out-door* paupers; exclusive of the charge for pauper lunatics in asylums, which in 1860, amounted to 420,000*l.* Can it be supposed, that so large a sum disbursed among the labouring population, and for the most part by guardians, who in their own districts are employers of labour, does not depress wages?

The English returns alone distinguish the sums expended for in-door, from those disbursed for out-door relief. These are the amounts for 1851 to 1860.†

Years.	In-door Relief.	Out-door Relief.	Years.	In-door Relief.	Out-door Relief.
	£	£		£	£
1851	789,914	2,873,588	1856	1,139,902	3,239,534
'52	763,399	2,808,298	'57	1,088,558	3,152,278
'53	762,718	2,775,556	'58	1,067,803	3,117,274
'54	924,938	2,887,630	'59	954,509	2,923,199
'55	1,093,711	3,192,909	'60	912,360	2,862,753

The year 1856 was the highest of the ten. It is worthy of remark, that in contrasting 1860 with the maximum year, there was a decrease of 20 per cent. in the in-door relief; but that the decrease

* P. 22, *et seq.*

† Annual Poor Rate Returns, in the Reports for those years.

in the out-door relief was only 12 per cent. The paupers appear to have left the workhouses quicker than they withdrew from the out-door relief lists.

In addition to the "relief to the poor," officially so called, there are disbursements made from the local taxes for objects of public charity. In England we have the cost of maintaining borough and county lunatic paupers out of the county or borough rate; in 1860, this is estimated to have been 42,000*l.*; and the cost of public vaccination defrayed out of the poor rates, which was 46,000*l.* in that year.* In Scotland there are no similar charges. In Ireland there is a large outlay under the Medical Charities Act; this amounted, in 1860, to 104,000*l.*† Further, as part of the cost of administering the poor laws, there are the expenses of the central Boards, and the district auditors' salaries, both items being paid by Parliament. The sums voted were these, namely,—

for England and Wales

	£	£
Central office	37,349	
Auditors' salaries	16,500	
	<hr/>	53,849

for Scotland

Central office	—	5,580
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for Ireland

Central office	26,192	
Auditors	2,750	
	<hr/>	28,942

United Kingdom	<hr/>	88,371
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The other votes for England and Scotland are not included here, as they are repayments to the local authorities for certain disbursements, already charged in the relief to the poor.

The total disbursements for 1860, in respect of *public charity*, including under that term the expense of (1) Relief to the poor; (2) Lunatics supported by the county or borough rate, or by the county cess; (3) Irish medical charities; and (4) Central offices; were for—

	£
England and Wales	5,597,269
Scotland	660,107
Ireland	666,360
	<hr/>
United Kingdom	6,923,736†

* See Table H, Appendix.

† Table I, Appendix.

‡ Table F, Appendix.

The rate per head on the population, in regard to the sums collected under the head of *public charity*, is for—

	s.	d.
England and Wales.....	5	7½
Scotland	4	2½
Ireland.....	2	3½
United Kingdom	4	9½

We may say, that the public charity of the United Kingdom entails a tax upon the community of 5s. per head per annum, in round numbers; but, that in respect of Ireland, the tax is not half of that rate; even inclusive of the expenditure under the Medical Charities Act, and for the maintenance of the lunatic paupers out of the county cess.

Taking the Irish rate per head as unity, the relative proportions of the public charity expenditure are represented by the following figures :—

England and Wales	2·5
Scotland.....	1·9
Ireland	1·0

There is one item of Poor Law Expenditure not yet noticed ; and which, though contingent on the administration of the poor laws, is not included in any of the foregoing accounts,—the “legal expenses.” In England, previous to 1834, the law costs were very heavy ; ranging from 200,000*l.* to 300,000*l.* a-year. But during the last ten years they have only averaged 58,000*l.* In Scotland, the mean amount has been 10,000*l.* a-year, during the same term ; while Ireland does not appear to have incurred any similar expense.

VI.—*Rate in the Pound, for Relief to the Poor, on Real Property.*

If the mode of assessing property, liable to the poor rates in the three divisions of the United Kingdom, were uniform, we should possess the immediate, and natural means of ascertaining the pressure of the tax, upon the rated property of each country.

But in England the assessment made by the overseers is well known to be worthless, for any purpose of comparison. It is greatly, but not uniformly, below the actual rental. In Scotland there are *five* different modes of assessment employed in the assessed parishes ; the unassessed parishes supplying the necessary funds for relief by voluntary contributions. The estimated annual value of land and heritages in Scotland is not much below the property tax assessment of real property, under Schedule A. In Ireland the poor rate and the property tax are levied upon the very same assessment. By taking the property tax assessment of the United Kingdom, as a basis of comparison, we have, therefore, the best standard obtainable

under the circumstances, for exhibiting the relative pressure of the rates in the three kingdoms.

The calculation through which this is effected, is limited to the seven years 1854 to 1860; because, previous to 1854 there was no real property assessment in Ireland, under Schedule A. The following are the results of a computation of the rate in the pound for the "relief of the poor," upon the data given in Tables E and G (Appendix), namely:—

	s.	d.	
England and Wales	1	1	in the £
Scotland	-	11½	"
Ireland	-	10¾	"

An average annual tax, at those rates, if laid upon the assessments under Schedule A, would have defrayed the whole of the *relief to the poor* in the three countries, during the seven years. It is worthy of remark that, however diverse may be the other aspects of pauperism in the three kingdoms, there is a nearer approach to equality in this view of the subject; England only exceeding Scotland by 1½*d.*, and Ireland by 2¼*d.* in the pound.

If the aggregate sums assessed to the income tax, under Schedules A (real property), B (farmers' profits), and D (profits of trades and professions), may be taken, when considered in relation to the amount of population, as a sufficient exponent of the wealth of the United Kingdom, it will be found that the pauperism is *inversely* as the poverty. This is shown in respect of 1860 by the following figures:—

	Assessment in Millions.		Value per Head.
	£		£ s.
England and Wales.....	237·0	=	11 17
Scotland	29·0	=	9 13
Ireland	20·5	=	3 5

England, which ranks highest in wealth, is deepest in pauperism; Ireland, lowest in wealth, is the least burdened with paupers; and Scotland stands between the two countries, both in respect of wealth and pauperism; but not at mid-distance—coming under each category, much nearer to England, than to Ireland.

VII.—Conclusion.

It may be urged in view of these facts, that the pauperism of the three Kingdoms, has arisen under conditions, and exists in media so dissimilar, that no useful conclusions can be drawn from the statistics alone. It is probable, no doubt, that when all the circumstances are considered, the figures may appear in a modified light. Yet, when it is found that the same anomalies emerge upon a comparison of districts similar in respect of "the material condition,

“the habits, and modes of life,”* we cannot suppose the significance of these figures will be much changed, when the facts are weighed with all their qualifications.

In addition to the instructive comparisons already quoted from the Scotch reports; there is, in the twelfth volume, a parallel drawn between the pauperism of the Scotch Highlands and that of Ulster and Connaught. The Scotch and Irish districts were selected as analogous. In the Highlands it was found that 1 in 18 of the population were receiving relief; but that in the Irish provinces the proportion was only 1 in 218. The Highlands were *twelve* times more pauperized than Ulster and Connaught; but in the one district, the relief was nearly all *out-door*; and in the other, nearly all *in-door*.

There is no place south of the Tweed in which the workhouse is so little employed in testing applications for relief, as Wales; there, the out-door pauperism is *twelve* times as much as the in-door. Now, the expenditure of England alone, has, subsequent to the passing of the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834, greatly *decreased*; while that of Wales has *increased*. In 1834, the relief in Wales, as measured by the population, was 2s. 1d. per head *below* England; at present (1860), it is 8d. per head *above* it. In other words, Wales is now 11 per cent. *more* burthened than England, instead of 22 per cent. *less*. But, in England the in-door pauperism is to the out-door, as 1 to 5; instead of 1 to 12, as in the principality.

The Commissioners who were appointed in 1832, to inquire into the operation of the English poor laws, enunciated the great principle for keeping the stream of public charity within safe bounds, in these words:

“It may be assumed, that in the administration of relief, the public is warranted in imposing such conditions on the individual relieved, as are conducive to the benefit either of the individual himself, or of the country at large, at whose expense he is to be relieved.

“The first and most essential of all conditions, a principle which we find universally admitted, even by those whose practice is at variance with it, is, that his situation on the whole shall not be made really or apparently so eligible as the situation of the independent labourer of the lowest class. Throughout the evidence it is shown, that in proportion as the condition of any pauper class is elevated above the condition of independent labourers, the condition of the independent class is depressed; their industry is impaired, their employment becomes unsteady, and its remuneration in wages is diminished. Such persons, therefore are under the strongest inducements to quit the less eligible class of labourers

* “Thirteenth Report of the Scotch Poor Law Board.”

“and enter the more eligible class of paupers. The converse is “the effect when the pauper class is placed in its proper position, “below the condition of the independent labourer. Every penny “bestowed, that tends to render the condition of the pauper more “eligible than that of the independent labourer, is a bounty on “indolence and vice.”*

More than a quarter of a century has elapsed since these words were published. It would appear to be a practical and important public question to ascertain how far the neglect of the rule they embody, has been the cause of the remarkable contrasts, which the statistics of pauperism in the United Kingdom reveal. Further, we may reasonably ask, if Ireland has, under the judicious administration of her poor laws, reduced pauperism to a quantity which, at the present time, is less than *one* per cent. of the population, under what conditions can we hope that similar results may be achieved for England and Scotland?

Examples of the judicious employment of the workhouse, in the reduction of pauperism, are not confined to Ireland. There are, in various parts of England, unions, where the guiding principle of the amended Poor Law has been, for many years, consistently applied, by the local authorities. In those unions, pauperism has been reduced to a point, so far below that, which, at all times, prevails in the circumjacent districts, as to afford irrefragable proof of the efficiency of the workhouse system, when it is used, with discretion and firmness, to its proper end—discriminating real, from simulated destitution. It is no exaggeration to describe the excessive pauper-rate, fostered by the mal-administration of negligent unions, as a public scandal, and a social wrong.

Whatever light additional statistics may shed upon the interesting questions which are suggested by the scope of this paper, information must also be sought beyond its technical domain, for their satisfactory solution.

* “Report of Commissioners for Inquiry into the Poor Laws,” 1834, p. 228.

APPENDIX.

TABLE A.—*Statement of the Average Number of Paupers Relieved, in the United Kingdom, on One Day, in each of the Ten Years, 1851 to 1860, with the Ratio of Pauperism to the Estimated Population.*

Years.	England and Wales.				Scotland.	
	In-door Paupers.	Out-door Paupers.	Total.*	Paupers.	Paupers In-door and Out-door.	Paupers.
				Per cent.		Per cent.
1851.....	114,367	826,948	941,315	5'3	122,416	4'2
'52.....	111,323	804,352	915,675	5'0	117,693	4'0
'53.....	110,148	776,214	886,362	4'8	117,535	4'0
'54.....	111,635	752,982	864,617	4'6	120,626	4'1
'55.....	121,400	776,286	897,686	4'8	121,770	4'1
1856.....	124,879	792,205	917,084	4'8	121,522	4'0
'57.....	122,845	762,165	885,010	4'6	119,569	3'9
'58.....	122,613	786,237	908,886	4'7	123,191	4'0
'59.....	121,232	744,214	865,446	4'4	122,013	3'9
'60.....	113,507	731,126	844,633	4'3	120,906	4'0
10 Years } average }	117,395	775,276	892,671	4'7	120,724	4'0

Years.	Ireland.				United Kingdom.	
	In-door Paupers.	Out-door Paupers.	Total.†	Paupers.	Paupers In-door and Out-door.	Paupers.
				Per cent.		Per cent.
1851.....	217,949	8,503	226,452	3'5	1,290,183	4'7
'52.....	167,372	3,225	170,597	2'6	1,203,965	4'4
'53.....	130,047	3,003	133,050	2'1	1,136,947	4'1
'54.....	95,922	1,622	97,544	1'5	1,082,787	3'9
'55.....	79,747	3,273	83,020	1'3	1,102,476	3'9
1856.....	63,477	876	64,353	1'0	1,102,959	3'9
'57.....	50,877	967	51,844	0'9	1,056,423	3'7
'58.....	45,781	1,271	47,052	0'8	1,079,129	3'8
'59.....	40,369	1,248	41,617	0'7	1,029,076	3'6
'60.....	41,271	2,001	43,272	0'7	1,008,811	3'5
10 Years } average }	93,281	2,599	95,880	1'5	1,109,275	3'9

* England and Wales, exclusive of county and borough pauper lunatics; this class has averaged latterly about 1,700.

† Ireland, exclusive of pauper lunatics maintained by the county cess; in 1857 this class was returned as 3,824.

TABLE B.—*Number of Pauper Lunatics, &c., Relieved in One Day in Great Britain, in 1859-60 ; and in Ireland, in 1857.*

ENGLAND AND WALES.		Number of Pauper Lunatics.	
Average number on the 1st January, 1859 } and 1860	}	30,930	
Estimate for parishes not returned		440	
Borough and county pauper lunatics (18 } 19 Vict., c. 105).....		1,698	
Total		33,068	
SCOTLAND.		Number of Pauper Lunatics.	
Average number on the 1st January, 1859 } and 1860	}	5,103	
Total		5,103	
IRELAND.		Number of Pauper Lunatics.	
Number on 1st January, 1857, in district } asylums	}	3,824	
In workhouses.....		1,707	
„ houses of industry		108	
Total		5,639	
Grand Total of the United Kingdom		43,810	

Note.—Every description of insane pauper, besides lunatic paupers, is included in this table.

TABLE C.—*Statement of the Sums Raised as Poor Rates in the United Kingdom and of Sums Received in aid of the Poor Rates; Ten Years, 1851-60.*

Years.	England and Wales.			Scotland.		
	Poor Rates Collected.	Other Receipts.	Total.	Poor Rates Collected.	Other Receipts.	Total.
	£	£	£	£	£	£
1851.....	6,778,914	181,408	6,960,322	492,098	63,947	556,045
'52.....	6,552,298	318,070	6,870,368	479,499	62,390	541,889
'53.....	6,552,412	282,971	6,805,383	491,394	63,306	554,700
'54.....	6,973,220	278,061	7,251,281	504,082	66,631	570,713
'55.....	7,864,149	310,805	8,174,954	549,463	64,960	614,423
1856.....	8,201,348	295,110	8,496,458	588,067	62,934	651,001
'57.....	8,139,003	301,987	8,440,990	612,485	57,368	669,853
'58.....	8,188,880	303,240	8,492,120	606,671	61,802	668,473
'59.....	8,108,222	326,566	8,434,788	622,101	61,812	683,913
'60.....	7,715,948	317,578	8,033,526	615,409	56,107	671,516
10 Years	75,044,394	2,915,716	*77,960,190	5,561,269	621,259	6,182,526

Years.	Ireland.			The United Kingdom.		
	Poor Rates Collected.	Other Receipts.	Total.	Poor Rates Collected.	Other Receipts.	Total.
	£	£	£	£	£	£
1851.....	1,039,173	66,703	1,105,876	8,310,185	312,058	8,622,243
'52.....	1,109,630	107,548	1,217,178	8,141,427	488,008	8,629,435
'53.....	1,009,493	44,316	1,053,809	8,023,299	390,593	8,413,892
'54.....	925,154	98,078	1,023,232	8,402,456	442,770	8,845,226
'55.....	835,894	12,151	848,045	9,249,506	387,916	9,637,422
1856.....	723,204	4,935	728,139	9,512,619	362,979	9,875,598
'57.....	585,583	7,078	592,661	9,337,071	366,433	9,703,504
'58.....	525,595	6,942	532,537	9,321,146	371,984	9,693,130
'59.....	523,065	4,859	527,924	9,253,388	393,237	9,646,625
'60.....	509,380	4,468	513,848	8,840,737	378,153	9,218,890
10 Years	7,786,171	357,078	8,143,249	88,391,834	3,894,131	*92,285,965

* 18,239,512*l.* was spent in England and Wales, out of this amount, for local purposes quite unconnected with relief to the poor.

TABLE D.—*Statement of the Sums Voted by Parliament to defray the Expenses of the English, Scotch, and Irish Poor Law Boards; and of Sums Voted in Aid of Poor Rates; Ten Years, 1851-60.*

Years.	England and Wales.			Scotland.		
	Central Expenses.	Local Expenses.	Total.	Central Expenses.	Local Expenses.	Total.
	£	£	£	£	£	£
1851.....	34,136	128,500	162,636	3,800	10,000	13,800
'52.....	32,754	113,500	146,254	3,800	10,000	13,800
'53.....	33,604	115,500	149,104	3,770	10,000	13,770
'54.....	34,073	115,500	149,573	3,790	10,000	13,790
'55.....	35,728	117,500	153,228	3,880	10,000	13,880
1856.....	36,410	117,500	153,910	3,930	10,000	13,930
'57.....	36,628	126,500	163,128	3,900	10,000	13,900
'58.....	37,221	133,500	170,721	5,759	10,000	15,759
'59.....	37,643	136,500	174,143	5,452	10,000	15,452
'60.....	37,349	141,500	178,849	5,580	10,000	15,580
Total 10 Years }	355,546	1,246,000	1,601,546	43,661	100,000	143,661

Years.	Ireland.			Total of the United Kingdom.
	Central Expenses.	Local Expenses.	Total.	
	£	£	£	£
1851.....	46,182	—	46,182	222,618
'52.....	46,465	—	46,465	206,519
'53.....	55,487	—	55,487	218,361
'54.....	48,131	—	48,131	211,494
'55.....	40,794	—	40,794	207,902
1856.....	34,543	—	34,543	202,383
'57.....	29,215	2,750	31,965	208,993
'58.....	28,010	2,750	30,760	217,240
'59.....	23,715	2,750	26,465	216,060
'60.....	26,192	2,750	28,942	223,371
Total 10 Years }	378,734	11,000	389,734	2,134,941

TABLE E.—Statement of Sums Expended in Relief to the Poor in the United Kingdom, in the Ten Years from 1851-60; and of the Rate per Head of Expenditure.

Years.	England and Wales.			Scotland.*		
	Population.†	Relief to the Poor.	Rate per Head.	Population.‡	Relief to the Poor.	Rate per Head.
		£	s. d.		£	s. d.
1851.....	17,927,609	4,962,704	5 6½	2,888,742	524,033	3 7½
'52.....	18,205,000	4,897,685	5 4½	2,916,000	522,209	3 7
'53.....	18,402,000	4,939,064	5 4½	2,942,000	530,984	3 7½
'54.....	18,617,000	5,282,853	5 8	2,969,000	562,888	3 9½
'55.....	18,840,000	5,890,041	6 3	2,996,000	595,140	4 0
1856.....	19,043,000	6,004,244	6 3¾	3,023,000	619,196	4 1
'57.....	19,207,000	5,898,756	6 1¾	3,050,000	627,512	4 1½
'58.....	19,361,000	5,878,542	6 —¾	3,077,000	633,533	4 1½
'59.....	19,578,000	5,558,689	5 8½	3,103,000	647,612	4 2
'60.....	19,837,000	5,454,964	5 6	3,130,000	654,527	4 2
	18,901,761 (Average.)	54,767,542	5 9½	3,009,474 (Average.)	5,917,634	3 11½

Years.	Ireland.			United Kingdom.		
	Population.†	Relief to the Poor.	Rate per Head.	Population.	Relief to the Poor.	Rate per Head.
		£	s. d.		£	s. d.
1851.....	6,552,386	1,141,647	3 5¾	27,368,737	6,628,384	4 10
'52.....	6,474,000	883,268	2 8¾	27,595,000	6,303,162	4 5
'53.....	6,396,000	785,718	2 5½	27,740,000	6,255,766	4 6
'54.....	6,318,000	760,153	2 4¾	27,904,000	6,605,894	4 8½
'55.....	6,240,000	685,259	2 2½	28,076,000	7,170,440	5 1
1856.....	6,162,000	576,390	1 10½	28,228,000	7,199,830	5 —¾
'57.....	6,084,000	498,889	1 7½	28,341,000	7,025,157	4 11½
'58.....	6,006,000	457,178	1 6½	28,444,000	6,969,253	4 10½
'59.....	5,928,000	413,712	1 4¾	28,609,000	6,620,013	4 7½
'60.....	5,850,000	454,531	1 6½	28,817,000	6,564,022	4 6½
	6,193,038 (Average.)	6,656,745	2 1¾	28,104,273 (Average.)	67,341,921	4 9½

* The expenditure in Scotland as here given, is less by the "law expenses" and the cost of "general sanitary measures;" the corresponding items are excluded from the English returns.

† The decrease in the population of Ireland has been assumed to follow at the same rate for each year.

‡ Estimated for 1852 to 1860, by the Board of Supervision; it is in excess of the truth, for the actual census of 1861 gives 3,061,251 as the number at the present time.

TABLE F.—*Statement of the Total Sum Expended in respect of Public Charity in the United Kingdom in the Parochial Year 1860; distinguishing the Pauperizing from the Non-Pauperizing Charity; and the portion which is defrayed by the Local from the portion paid by Parliamentary Votes.*

United Kingdom.	Cost of Public Charity in 1860.			
	(a) Pauperizing.		(b) Non-pauperizing.	
	Relief to the Poor.	Lunatic Poor Supported by County or Borough Rate, or by County Cess.	Public Vaccination: Fees to Vaccinators.	Medical Aid to the Poor under the Medical Charities Act (Ireland).
England and Wales ...	£ 5,454,964	£ 42,450*	£ 46,006	£ —
Scotland	654,527	—	—	—
Ireland	454,531	78,640†	Included in the Medical Charities.	104,247
Totals.....	6,564,022	121,090	46,006	104,247

United Kingdom.	Cost of Public Charity in 1860.		Rate per Head, of Total Cost on the Population.
	Salaries of District Auditors, and the Expense of the Central Boards Paid by Parliament.	Total Cost Defrayed by Local Taxation and Parliamentary Votes.	
England and Wales ...	£ 53,849‡	£ 5,597,269	s. d. 5 7 $\frac{3}{4}$
Scotland	5,580	660,107	4 2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ireland	28,942§	666,360	2 3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Totals.....	88,371	6,923,736	4 9 $\frac{3}{4}$

* Estimated at 25*l.* per head on 1,698 pauper lunatics.

† " 20*l.* " 3,932 "

‡ 16,500*l.* of this is the auditor's share.

§ 2,750*l.* " "

TABLE G.—*Statement of the Annual Value of Real Property in the United Kingdom in each of the Seven Years from 1854 to 1860. (Schedule A., Income and Property Tax.)*

Years.	England and Wales.	Scotland.	Ireland.	United Kingdom.
	£	£	£	£
1851	—	—	—	—
'52	—	—	—	—
'53	—	—	—	—
'54	99,274,309	11,947,791	11,767,810	122,989,910
'55	100,835,328	12,144,437	11,892,120	124,871,885
'56	101,938,175	12,428,781	11,878,545	126,245,501
'57	103,603,068	12,543,811	11,952,285	128,099,164
'58	109,978,265	13,809,321	12,826,739	136,614,325
'59	110,923,084	13,885,457	12,858,701	137,667,242
'60	112,082,749	13,974,080	12,893,829	138,950,658
7 Years' } (average)	105,519,283	12,961,954	12,259,718	130,776,955

Note.—Abstracted from Parliamentary Paper, No. 592, Sess. 1860.

TABLE H.—*Statement of the Annual Expenditure under the Medical Charities Act of Ireland; and of the Number of Poor Persons who have received Medical Aid; and of the Number Vaccinated under it.*

Years ended 30th September.	Expenses under the Medical Charities Acts.	Number of Poor Persons attended to,			Number of cases of Vaccination.
		At Dispensaries.	At Home.	Total.	
	£				
1853	88,440	557,033	133,378	690,411	43,332
'54	89,707	557,325	137,700	695,025	52,844
'55	89,388	583,547	149,016	732,563	46,711
'56	90,236	594,673	146,564	741,237	84,131
1857	90,460	600,022	154,621	754,643	47,855
'58	92,725	601,749	153,829	755,578	54,984
'59	99,336	616,131	160,260	776,391	140,411
'60	104,247	596,325	165,308	761,633	107,305
Totals ...	744,539	4,706,805	1,200,676	5,907,481	577,573

Note.—In addition to the workhouse infirmaries and workhouse fever hospitals, “there are 717 dispensary districts in Ireland, with 775 medical officers appointed “and paid from the poor rate to attend gratuitously on poor persons needing “medical aid and medicine, either at the patient’s home or at the dispensary “station.”—“Fourteenth Annual Report,” p. 72.

TABLE I.—*Statement of the Cost of Public Vaccination, and of the the Number of Poor Persons Successfully Treated by the Public Vaccinators in England and Wales.*

Years.	1 Cost of Public Vaccination paid out of the Poor Rates.	2 Number of Poor Persons successfully Vaccinated.	3 Number of Births Registered in the Kingdom.	4 Ratio per Cent. of (2) to (3).
	£			Per cent.
1851	25,248	338,947	592,347	57·2
'52	25,895	397,128	601,839	66·0
'53	27,576	366,593	601,223	61·0
'54	45,729	677,886	623,699	108·7
'55	54,727	448,519	623,181	72·0
1856	44,503	422,281	640,840	65·9
'57	41,256	411,268	649,963	63·3
'58	40,761	455,004	654,914	69·5
'59	46,472	445,020	669,834	66·4
'60	46,006	485,927	689,060	70·5
Totals ...	398,173	4,448,573	6,346,900	70·1

Note.—In regard to the cost, this return relates to the year ended at Lady-day; but in regard to the numbers born and vaccinated, to that ended at Michaelmas; therefore the sum for any year in the first column, does not exactly represent the payments for the cases of vaccination in the second.